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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews literature on ethnicity and acculturation, presents a theoretical framework whose master variable is the nature of an ethnic group's organization, and applies the theory to the Greek colony of Tarpon Springs, Florida. It is shown that when the key features of cultural continuity (church, language schools, voluntary associations) remain intact, so does the ethnic population. This observation is contrasted with Edwin Buxbaum's 1967 prediction that with the decline of sponge fishing in Tarpon Springs, ethnic cohesion among Greeks would dissolve. Also argued is that the concepts of (1) world view, integrating economic and ecological strategies of adaptation: (2) multiple role playing: and (3) community, colony, and network organization all provide a strong explanation for ethnic survival. It is maintained that certain changes that appear to be the result of acculturation (such as disappearance of the dowry and increased democratization of family) are the result of adaptation and functional change to a different economic resource base. (Author/GC)

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Community, Colony, and Network: Survival of Greco-American Culture in Tarpon Springs, Florida

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by

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Community, Colony, and Network: Survival of Greco-American Culture in Tarpon Springs, Florida

Introduction

In the Summer of 1979, this writer initiated a study of the Greek colony in Tarpon Springs, Florida, to find what changes had occurred to ethnic models of community social organization as a result of the devastating "red tide" of 1947 which destroyed the sponge beds upon which the men depended for a livelihood. It came as a great surprise to find that remarkably little change had occurred which could be traced to changes in economic activities. Research showed that the reasons for this lack of change were: (1) the strength of the Greek colony's institutions, particularly the church, language school, voluntary associations, and family, (2) the abilities of the Greeks to play both public "American" roles and private "Greek" roles, (3) the large number of alternative ecological and economic strategies available to members of Greek culture. The changes that had occurred appeared to have little to do with changes in ecological adaptation but were functional adaptations to American culture and its resources.

As a result of these discoveries, research shifted to the library to find more extensive support for the above generalizations. The resulting paper presents a theory that the survival of an ethnic group depends not on ecological adaptation *per se*, but on four factors: (1) the nature of the ethnic group's internal social structure and its relationship to the host society as an independent community, a colony, a network, or as a set of independent ethnic identities, (2) the group's ability to maintain

control over its key institutions while undergoing internal "functional" changes, (3) the capacities of persons to be members of several different cultures, and (4) the existence of a strong world view which encompasses a series of alternative ecological or economic strategies. These four facets to the theory are extensively examined after a brief review of the literature on ethnic survival.

The Rediscovery of Roots

For the most part, the anthropological literature on ethnic groups is restricted to studies of the acculturation of non-industrial peoples to industrial norms. Very few anthropologists prior to the 1960's and 1970's were involved in the study of ethnic groups within the urban regions of modern, industrial societies. One exception to this generalization is Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole's exhaustive and sophisticated (for its time) study of ethnic groups in Yankee City, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, published in 1945. Even today it stands as a monumental descriptive analysis of the structure of the family, church, voluntary association, language school, and collective symbols and their changes over three generations for the Polish, Jewish, Greek, Italian and Irish ethnic communities of Yankee City. Their findings when looked at in light of the contemporary acceptance that American culture is not a melting pot, are suggestive.

Warner and Srole describe a fascinating "parallel evolution" in the development of each ethnic community. In each case, the community begins with a few men who arrive without their families and consort informally with each other. After a few years, they return to their home countries

and either find wives or retrieve wives, and return to the United States, often bringing other kin along, usually brothers. As positive information about life abroad flows through the home communities, more and more men elect to follow their kinsmen and village associates, returning after several years to find wives. As the community grows, informal groups of men (never women) begin to meet in ethnically familiar places. For example, Greek men establish and meet in coffee houses and Jews meet in their stores, often spending entire evenings there (Warner and Srole 1945: 257). The informal meetings are followed by the establishment of benefit societies (voluntary associations). For the Greeks these are the Greek-American Progressive Association (G.A.P.A.) and the American Hellenic Progressive Association (A.H.E.P.A.). The formal associations are followed by (but not replaced) by synagogues and churches. Finally, the community inevitably establishes a church affiliated language school which meets after the public school, and a Sunday school. Where possible, and this depends on the size of the community, parochial schools are established. It should be noted that this unusually active process of institution building occurs within the early years of the ethnic community and is completely the responsibility of the first generation which is made up primarily of persons with peasant backgrounds. Ethnographic studies of contemporary European peasant communities would hardly predict such extraordinary capacities toward cooperatively achieving common goals.

Warner and Srole's volume is much too rich in detail to attempt any synthesis here. In very general terms, they show that the generation following that of the founding fathers resents the controls of "the Fathers." Warner and Srole tried to set up a predictive conceptual scheme for the

acculturation of ethnic groups to American norms based on the following proposition:

> First, the greater the difference between the host and immigrant cultures, the greater will be the subordination, the greater the strength of the ethnic social system and the longer the period necessary for the assimilation of the ethnic group. On the other hand, those ethnic groups with small differences are quickly assimilated (Warner and Srole 1945: 286).

They then set up assorted "predictive" criteria for the acculturation process and rate the various ethnic groups in Yankee City accordingly. The criteria are: (1) Rating a particular group's degree of subordination (freedom of residential choice, freedom to marry out of one's own group, amount of occupational restriction, strength of attitudes in host society which prevent social participation in such institutions as associations and cliques, amount of vertical mobility permitted in the host society for member of the ethnic or racial group) (Warner and Srole 1945: 289). (2) Rating the strength of the cultural or racial subsystem (power of the "church"), presence of separate schools, political and economic unity of the group, number and power of ethnic or racial associations). On the basis of the above criteria, they establish a time-table for the assimilation of the various Yankee City ethnic groups. The time table for assimilation is:

a. very short: not more than one generation
b. short: more than one but less than six
c. moderate: more than six
d. slow: a very long time in the future not yet discernable
e. very slow: will not be assimilated short of changes in the social order (Warner and Srole 1945: 289-290).

On the basis of their predictive criteria, they tried to build a time-table for the various ethnic groups of Yankee City. Much of what went into Warner and Srole's reasoning is duplicated in the literature on

on American ethnic groups. It is not necessary to pursue the literature in great detail to show the common cast of thinking of the time period, since, for either naive or sophisticated reasons, writers of the 1930's, 1940's, 1950's, and even the 1960's had a built-in resistence to admitting that ethnic groups do not dispell at all easily. Since it is not this writer's desire to analyze the historic background to another generation's world view, but to introduce some novel ideas about the survival of ethnicity, only two comments are necessary, one critical, and one complementary: (1) all our ethnic groups are still with us and (2) while possibly hard to prove, it is this writer's opinion that underlying the predictions of ethnic disintegration has been the basic hope that the resulting acculturation would bring about a liberally tolerant society.

Another example of the acculturation approach to ethnic research is Edwin Buxbaum's study of the Greek community of Tarpon Springs, Florida (Buxbaum 1968). He develops a theory on the predicted acculturation of the Greek community which makes explicit the "closed systems" approach of traditional social science. He bases his prediction on the inevitable demise of the Greek community on an organic analogy:

> An objective of this study is to test the hypothesis of organic solidarity, based on a biological model. [The model] assumes that the cultural identity and the persistence of attitudes and values in an ethnic group depend on various factors including the unifying effects of a church, teaching and use of an ethnic language, membership in group organization and societies and other factors. The hypothesis compares the ethnic group to an organic body that reacts to outside stimuli, has a protective "epidermis" against disruptive outside influence, and maintains its equilibrium and health in a steady state through interaction with members of its own group. The hypothesis assumes that when individuals withdraw from the group, intermarry, leave the church, or drop out from organizations, that the identity of the group will diminish or even disappear just as an organism might cease to exist and die when it is attacked by external "invaders" (Buxbaum 1968).

The problem with this type of theory is that Buxbaum is building a closed model of a social system with strongly built-in tautologies. Although it is doubtful that many of his contemporaries would have pushed the organic analogy quite so far, many would have agreed with this view of the thnic group as a community and as a closed social system. Since such systems must be in equilibrium or in a steady state, disequalibrium must bring about a change in the state of the system, and, ultimately, its end... at least it can no longer be the original system. This is the type of theory attacked by Walter Buckley (1968).

In 1964, Milton Gordon pointed out that ethnic populations were alive and well and in 1970 Glazer and Moynihan pointed out the very obvious survival of ethnic groups and ethnicity in New York City. They summarized statistics on the survival of ethnicity that are truly staggering: Italian 859,000, Russian (mostly Jews) 564,000, Poles 389,000, Irish 312,000, Austrian 220,000, British 175,000, Hungarian 100,000, Greek, Czech, Rumanian 50,000, Yugoslavian 25,000, Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland 10,000, Portuguese, Mexican 5,000, Black, over 1,000,000 (Glazer and Moynihan 1970: 7). Since they were forced to depend on census statistics rather than survey data, there is little doubt that the actual figures are much larger. Five years later, in Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, they once again brought attention to the survival of ethnicity. Their explanation for the survival of ethnic populations are, however, extremely weak. They posit two explanations: (1) the development of a welfare state which promotes the interests of ethnic groups, and (2) inequality which prevents ethnic groups from being assimilated. Aside

from a grumbling internal contradiction between (1) and (2), it does not take a historian to point out that not only have ethnic groups existed side by side in the United States before it became a welfare state, but there have been co-existent ethnic groups before there was a United States, or before there were industrial states, or, for that matter, before there were states (see Barth 1968, Depres 1975). The survival of ethnicity as a phenomenon and an interest in ethnicity are two very different things, with different explanations. And, while their explanations for the survival of ethnic identity make little sense, Glazer and Moynihan did bring about considerable interest in ethnic survival. The following section attempts to establish a theory explaining ethnic survival in the United States and other industrial societies.

Towards a Theory of Ethnic Survival

This theory of ethnic survival is composed of four parts, not necessarily interdependent; that is, they do not have to go together. According to the theory, the strength of an ethnic group will depend on (1) its origins and its relationship to the host society as a community, a colony, a network, or a set of individuals with ethnic identities; (2) on the ability of the ethnic group to maintain one of the above structures while undergoing key internal "functional" changes; (3) the capacities and willingness of individuals to play several different cultural roles and to become members of two or more cultures at the same time, and (4) on the ethnic group having a built-in set of strategies so that it can shift niches when necessary or possible.

Community, colony, network, and ethnic identity. These four categories are viewed as having descending orders of strength and, therefore, survival ability. Communities are stronger than colonies, colonies stronger than networks, and networks stronger than identities. These are not mutually exclusive categories since, for example, both communities and colonies depend on networks, and all will be characterized by ethnic identities.

The Ethnic Community. Beginning with Ahrensberg and Kimball's definition of a community "as a master system encompassing social forms and cultural behavior in interdependent subsidiary systems" (institutions), there is established the most powerful socio-cultural unit with the greatest chances of survival, whether ethnic or not (Ahrensberg and Kimball 1965: 3). In their chapters "Peoples of the Old World" and "American Communities" they show how characteristic European and American community types can be traced back hundreds, and in certain cases, thousands of years (Ahrensberg and Kimball). It is at this point that the concept of ethnic should be defined. For example, are contemporary Celtic crackers of the Georgia piney woods ethnics or something else? And, if something else, what? For this reason, it is best to stay away from definitions that have at their base some national distinction. For Fredrik Barth, ethnicity is defined as a person's most general identity, based on origin and background (Barth 1968: 13).

It is not necessary to look very far to find extremely long lived ethnic communities if the above two definitions of community and ethnicity are accepted. For example, the Scot-Irish of the Appalachian valleys all the way from New York state to Tennessee, Kentucky, and parts of Georgia

have characteristic settlement patterns, institutions, and forms of behavior that are hundreds or more years old, some finding their roots in the Celtic world of Western Europe. Another straightforward example is the Amish community which dates back over seven hundred years. Yet other examples of ethnic communities with potentially long lives are large number of Norwegian, Swiss, and Swedish communities of the upper Midwest.

Of course, independent ethnic communities can cease to exist through domination by an external culture, in which case, they have lost their independence, and community structure. At this point, they are no longer communities, they are colonies. Colonies can be either previously independent communities that have lost control over their key economic and political institutions to the host culture, or colonies can be formed when ethnic groups migrate into a host culture and depend on that culture's major institutions for survival. Examples of the first kind are everyday events as American cities expand over the countryside turning previously independent communities into "bedroom" communities, whose majorities are composed of commuters with little knowledge or interest in the "ethnic" heritage of the "places" they live. This does not mean these ethnic communities will cease to exist as their members are turned into colonials, but their capacities for survival have been affected.

The second type of ethnic organization is the basic one most writers describe when they write about ethnicity in the United States. Almost every city in the United States has its colony: American Indian, Chicano, Puerto Rican, German, Polish, Lithuanian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, hillbilly, and so on. And the larger cities have these and many that have never been described.

An ethnic colony is much like an ethnic community except that it lacks its own central political and economic institutions. It is dependent on the major institutions of its host culture, and in this sense, is like a part-community. It is a colony within a larger community.

While on a theoretical level, colonies should not be as long lived as communities, in actuality they may survive for just as long. They may not have control of key economic or political in titutions, but as long as they control those institutions which perpetuate the ethnic culture, they will survive. This is where Warner and Srole go adrift in their otherwise excellent study. It is this lack of attention to structures of cultural perpetuation that bring many students of ethnic groups to make predictions of ethnic assimilation. Too much attention to changing values, (particularly those attached to sex roles) and language changes and not enough attention to institutional structures brings researchers to the belief that ethnic groups are failing. An excellent example of an enduring colony is the American colony of Medellin, Colombia, where I lived for five years. It is made up of a few American families partly married into Colombian families whose children are bilingual and attend the Columbus School (a bilinqual school) and who form the nucleus of the colony. Some of the families have lived there for three generations. Associated strongly with these families are other American families who have been there less than a generation. Finally there are the transient families who live in the colony several years and move on. Most of the colony belongs to a country club (in the 1950's it was the Club Compestre), attend one of two churches and festivities at the American cultural center, and give parties which unite the colony into a network. A close examination of ethnic colonies in American cities gives a somewhat similar pattern.

Certain large cities like New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Milwaukee, may actually be conceived to be large metropolitan communities made up predominantly of semi-autonomous ethnic colonies. Take away the colonies and, ironically, there would be no metropolitan community left. The major institutions controlled by the ethnic colonies are primarily those of cultural perpetuation: the family, the church, the language school, the peer group, newspapers, radio programs, and so on. Another little recognized and non-institutional social system leading to ethnic perpetuation is the self-help network. These networks are meant to help members of one's own ethnic group, and in the process of reciprocating help on the basis of ethnic identity, reinforce that very identity. At times these networks become institutionalized and formalized, becoming "voluntary associations."

Voluntary associations have been studied by a large number of social anthropologists, the most prominent of whom have been Little (1958), Mangin (1959) and Doughty (1972). The importance of the voluntary association in the underdeveloped world appears well established; however, it is surprising the lack of attention that ethnic voluntary associations have received in complex industrial societies. Warner and Srole have shown that almost immediately upon the foundation of ethnic colonies, there appear voluntary associations which have the function of helping the colony and the individual survive. One of the few recent studies of the establishment of voluntary associations is Price's study of American Indians in urban settings (Price 1977). He shows that Indian centers established by Whites are quickly taken over and run by Indians. A very

relevant recent study is Skeldon's study of regional associations in Peru (1976) which details changes that occur to voluntary associations over time; these changes correspond very closely to changes occurring to ethnic voluntary associations in the large and small cities of the United States. He shows that associations are established early in time and at first act to institutionalize aid. Later, after the dispersal of the original members, they take on social and recreational functions (1976: 233-252). In American cities, after the aid phase, the ethnic voluntary association also takes on social and recreational functions like baseball games and picnics. But one function missing in the Peruvian situation is that of reinforcing ethnic identity. Of course the rural Peruvian is not establishing him or herself in a completely new and strange environment, nor is there strong reason to perpetuate rural vs. urban values. For the Irishman or Greek in New York City, the associations can often have covert political functions which help the Irish and Greek colonies survive. It is also a mistake to predict the demise of ethnic colonies on the basis of the decreased importance of certain ethnic associations, as do Warner and Srole (1945: 289-90) and Buxbaum (1968: 9). It can be argued that such associations fade in importance not as the ethnic colony fades in importance but rather as the colony gains representation in the major political bodies of the community. Thus, in Tarpon Springs, there has been some decrease in association membership in A.H.E.P.A., but at the same time there has been an increase in the representation of Greeks in local, regional, and state political organizations. (This assertion is based on an analysis of the city's newspapers from 1949-1979; no attempts were made to tabulate data.)

Even when an ethnic colony loses its major reinforcing institutions, such as church, school, voluntary association, it may still have a long life as a network. A network's only organizing principles are those of kinship and reciprocity (for an extensive treatment of network concepts see Whitten and Wolfe (1973), Boissevain and Mitchell 1973, Sarason 1977). While networks probably occur in all types of society and at all levels of sociocultural integration, it would be difficult for a community or colony to organize itself only along network principles if the larger society possessed effective institutional devices. John Kennedy (1977) has shown that the Tarahumara of Mexico function quite well with just network types of organization, but they are not in direct contact with more powerful systems of organization. Also, it would appear that certain parts of the rural South settled by Celtic populations function primarily by means of networks, but these again are not in contact with more powerful systems of organization (Solon T. Kimbal, personal communication).

Another example is the old Spanish colony of La Farma of Moundsville, West Virginia. Founded at the turn of the century by my mother's father and his relatives and friends from northern Spain, it never achieved sufficient size to develop the kind of institutions needed for continued survival. Today, only a few of the surviving members of the second generation speak Spanish. None of the third generation speak Spanish (with the exception of this writer and his brother) and most of those have married into non-Spanish families. However, the network is still alive, and the behavior of the third generation is still definitely Spanish, with its members demonstrating immediate and warm hospitality to outsiders, which is not a

West Virginian norm. Finally, there is the interesting example of an ethnic network documented by Leslie Dow in "High Weeds in Detroit, the Irregular Economy Among a Network of Appalachian Migrants" (1977). The article highlights the way that a small group of Appalachian migrants use traditional tinkering skills to deal in junk and restore old cars for other minority groups in Detroit who do not have the same skills. Just how long such an ethnic network can maintain its integrity is difficult to estimate, but it would appear likely that by the third generation, such groups will have been acculturated into the host culture.

The final ethnic "type" that should receive at least a brief mention is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is the identification by an individual with an ethnic heritage. Such an identification does not need group support, but it does need the interest of the individual. It is the kind of identity development currently going on in the United States that has at its base some type of "roots" phenomena. That is, it is part of the general striving by Americans, particularly members of the rootless middle class to identify their roots. This final category is the most illusive of all since it has a lot to do with pride over one's background, and to a great extent, it is a hidden identification.

World View and Strategies of Ecological Adaptation. Fredrik Barth in his Ethnic Groups and Boundaries has pointed out the importance of ecological adjustments in bringing about and maintaining ethnic differentiation and boundary maintenance. He refers to the environmental vectors toward which a group adjust as "ecological niches." While this frame of

reference is well suited for non-industrial societies, such as those that make up a majority of his book, the same frame of reference does not fit ethnic groups in modern, industrial societies. It is easy to show that there is no one-on-one for any modern American ethnic group and any one niche. The sponge diving Greeks of Tarpon Springs, Florida shifted over to shrimping, fishing, restauranting, and working the blast furnaces in Gary, Indiana when the sponge beds of the Gulf of Mexico suffered destruction during the late 1940's, as a result of the "red tide" and the introduction of synthetic sponges. Today, though there is a demand by tourists and others for organic sponges, and the sponge beds have come back, Greek men have little interest in returning to sponging because other occupations are more lucrative and less dangerous.

While Barth's grounding of ethnic identity in ecological niches is much too specific to work for contemporary ethnic groups in modern industrial societies, the concept does carry validity if made less specific. That is, instead of looking at specific niches, it is possible to identify alternative strategies of ecological adaptation which are traditional strategies for specific ethnic groups. Underlying these strategies is usually found some type of "world view." For example, two outstanding traits mentioned about Greeks in studies of Greek communities (Campbell, Buxbaum, Patterson, Kourvetaris, Gavaki, Vlachos, etc.) is their fierce sense of independence and the male's concept of honor, filotimo. Filotimo (which sounds somewhat like machismo among Latin Americans) requires courage in the face of any type of danger. Sponge diving is a risky but independent type of occupation, and fits the Greek world view about how a man should behave (brave and independent). However, when sponge diving is no longer

possible, the Greek men go into other dangerous occupations, but as it turns out, these are not ends in themselves. The men save their money and when possible, open up small, but independent stores or restaurants. The Greek restaurant becomes an alternative to sponge diving -- but both are possible alternatives within a Greek world view. Another example of this comes from the Spanish community of La Farma in Moundsville, West Virginia. The founders were farmers from northern Spain. However, when they arrived in West Virginia they did not turn to farming, nor have any of their descendents. They turned to the mines and worked under extremely dangerous conditions (my grandfather and uncle both died of black lung at relatively young ages). When I asked my cousin Tom Monts (Montez) about what looked to me like an apparent contradiction (I could see no connection between farming and mining), he said it was not the farming that explained things but Being a Spaniard. He put it this way: "When a Spaniard gets knocked down, he immediately gets up and starts again." Thus, there is a parallel to Greek filotimo among my Spanish ancestors. Today, the descendants of my grandfather "work in steel" in West Virginia, still taking on the most dangerous of occupations.

One more observation is important. There is a strong tendency on the part of scholars to view the entrance of members of ethnic groups into the professions as an indication of the breakdown of ethnic identity. Such a trend may be far from the case since such professions may be within the strategic set of adaptations that is a part of the heritage of an ethnic group. Thus, it should not come as any surprise to find that, given the opportunity, Greeks in Greece and the United States move into law (after going through real estate). Law is a profession which can be used to help

other Greeks. The same with politics. What may be more important than the upward mobility of a set of individuals within an ethnic group is the size of the group and its type (community, colony, network). A large Greek (Italian, Spanish, Polish) community or colony will be able to support many more lawyers, etc. than a small network. In the last type of system it will be necessary for the professional to find other clientele, and in effect, move out.

Multiple Role Playing: the 150% American

Professor Malcom McFee, when working with the Blackfeet on a study of acculturation, discovered that a continuum model of ethnicity is worse than useless. He discovered that there were a large number of individuals who knew Blackfoot culture as well as American culture and could operate just as effectively in either one. When going to work, the Blackfoot male would act American, but at home he would act Blackfoot. In his paper he referred to this type of individual as being 150% American. Another way of looking at the same phenomenon is to use Ralph Turner's concept of role-taking and role-making, as expressed by Walter Buckley. The concept of role-taking and role-making differs from that of Ralph Linton or Robert Merton in that a role is not conceived of as a "thing." One does not learn a role of being American (or farmer), nor does one learn the many roles of being an American (or farmer). Rather the individual learns a wide variety of different rules which are applied to differing situations through the process of role-taking and role-making, that is, through interaction with other individuals (Buckley 1968). This conceptualization, which emerges from general systems theory, shows how an Italian American

may go to the office at I.T. & T., have coffee breaks and talk about football, basketball, baseball, interoffice politics and what is going on in the White House, take a break for lunch and possibly go jogging (if that is the in-thing with his corporation at the time). At 6:00 PM he may return home to face his mother-in-law, his mother, his wife, and his children, and a painting of the madonna in the hallway. For dinner he may very well eat a pasta dish, along with some wine, because his mother is worried he is getting too skinny (from all the jogging). Warner and Srole give a beautiful example of judicious public role playing on the part of a Jewish boy who commented on the use of Protestant Bible verses in school: "The Protestant prayer is used. I myself read the prayer along with the other school children and do it the regular way because when in Rome do as the Romans do" (Warner and Srole 1945: 141).

A very perceptive study which reinforces this needed concept is Vlachos' study of Greek assimilation in the United States. He shows that many Greeks participate in the American social system without completely giving up their own culture, in which they maintain a great deal of pride (Vlachos 1968" 43). Lauquier points out that though there may be considerable variation in culture between generations, religion and the family maintain a modified Greek culture intact into the third generation, specifically because individuals learn how to operate both in the American arena and the Greek home (Lauquier 1961). Baskauskas, in a study of Lithuanian refugees in Los Angeles (Baskaukas 1977) shows that despite the racial similarity of Lithuanian to Americans, and despite their successful network of voluntary associations, organized a Lithuanian Catholic church, and vigorously redefined their Lithuanian ethnic identity (Baskaukas 1977: 148-151). Baskaukas in trying to explain the feeling of

Lithuanians toward their native heritage uses the analogy of "soul," that is, the essence of things Lithuanian make up the "soul" of the Lithuanian-American.

Carole Hill has written that the distinction between public and private behavior accounts for much of the persistence of ethnicity in primary relations with members of one's group and, on the other hand, the apparent assimilation of these groups into mainstream American society (Hill 1975). Most of the members of ethnic groups in Atlanta participate in the major institutions of that city, but retain their ethnic identity (Hill 1975: 336). Another very interesting and informative study is Thompson's study of the Japanese community of Lima, Peru (1974). The community dates back to 1898 when Japanese were first brought over to work in the plantations and the guano beds. By 1923, over 18,000 had migrated to Peru. The history of the Japanese of Lima show direct parallels to previous histories cited earlier. Titiev did a study of the Japanese in 1951, predicting their rapid assimilation into Peruvian culture, but while the Japanese have almost totally converted to Catholicism (98%) and despite the lack of prejudice against the Japanese in Peru, they clearly hang together as an ethnic group and also move easily through Peruvian culture (Thompson 1974: 250-252).

Clearly, the ability and the desire of individuals to perpetuate separate (or overlapping) role systems which belong to American culture on the one hand, and an ethnic culture on the other, goes a long way towards explaining the nonassimilation of ethnic groups in the United States. Ethnic populations large enough to maintain colonial social structures, with internally built-in viable alternative strategies of adaptation, can

continue to maintain a modified ethnic culture almost indefinitely. As to the issue of exogamy, which is a major explanatory variable for assimilation in the literature, if the ethnic group is large enough, such marrying out will have little effect on the survival of the total ethnic group. After all, it is easier to marry another Italian in New York City if there are close to a million Italians around! (Glazer and Moynihan 1970: 7).

However, change does occur. By the third generation, certain key social indicators have changed. For the most part, these changes are explained by the process of Americanization. While it is true that peer group pressure and the desire to take on certain aspects of the host culture may clearly result in a rejection of ethnic values, it is also clear that a close reading of the literature on ethnic "acculturation" show convergent trends for all ethnic groups that may have less to do with Americanization than with modernization. Another way of putting this is that the same forces working on traditional American culture to produce contemporary American culture are at work in the ethnic community. It is not just that the ethnic community becomes hyphenated, it also becomes "modern" by taking on those characteristics that mark modern urban societies throughout the world -- not just the United States. There is little doubt that Algerians in France are modifying their cultures in similar and parallel ways to Morrocans in the United States. The reason for the types of similarities (parallels) in the cultural changes of ethnic groups in modern industrial societies can best be explained through the concept of functional adaptation.

Functional Adaptation Within Ethnic Cultures

Functional adaptation occurs as the environmental backups for specific institutions and/or forms of behavior change. In this sense, Greek men stop paying dowries for their wives not because they are imitating American men, but rather because the function of the dowry has disappeared. More broadly, most of the ethnic communities which dominate the urban scene in the United States come from the land of "Fathers," to put it into the language of Warner and Srole (Warner and Srole 1945: 286), that is, they come from peasant villages which have a very visible patriarchal social structure. The patriarchal social structure is an adaptation to a stressful cyclical agrarian economy. Once in the United States, the need for a patriarchal system evaporates as the ethnic colony makes successful adaptations to the American economy. Quite like probably mutation effect in biology, once a structure is no longer necessary, it cannot be supported. The patriarchal system fades because the energy needed to sustain it is greater than the rewards to colony members maintaining it. So, while the patriarchs of the first generation feel betrayed that their sons (or grandsons) will not meet their exact demands, the members of the third generation find little need to make those demands of their own children. So, what looks like an American family, with egalitarian role relations, may actually be a Greek-American family which has adjusted to the resources of the host culture.

This final section will apply the theory summarized in the previous pages to the Greek colony of Tarpon Springs, Florida.

The Survival of Greek Ethnicity in Tarpon Springs, Florida. In 1966, Edwin Buxbaum predicted the acculturation and assimilation of this Greek

community. He suggested it would be interesting to have a social scientist check the validity of his projections twenty years in the future. While falling short of the twenty year mark by some seven years, recent research in Tarpon Springs shows that the Greek community is much as he left it, thirteen years ago. And according to several non-Greek American leaders in the community, far from disappearing, "the Greeks are stronger than ever." According to the city planner, rather than disappearing, the Greeks have given Tarpon Springs its particular political identity, such that the city is constantly asserting its autonomy and independence against the county within which it is located and against its sister cities. While Buxbaum did an excellent job of describing the community and its history, his theoretical bias toward viewing the Greek community according to a closed organic model led, naturally, towards predicting its future disappearance. Approaching the same data with a general systems model and the above theoretical framework produces a somewhat different picture. That is, if one looks at the Greek community as an open and adapting social system, rather than a closed one, its present survival makes a lot of sense (as well as the survival of ethnic groups throughout the world). Since Buxbaum's analysis could not deal with the original Greek colony of Tarpon Springs, John Campbell's study of a sheep herding village in Greece will be used as a contrast base.

While Campbell's study is of a sheep herding village, and the original Greek immigrants to Tarpon Springs were sponge divers from the Dodecanese Islands, there is a sufficient degree of similarity between the two regions to allow a use of Campbell's material as a comparative base line. Descriptions given of the early Tarpon Springs immigrants conform almost exactly to Campbell's villagers[24]

According to Campbell, the village of Zagori is characterized by extremely simple social groupings with the patriarchal family organized as a corporate group, owning in common all significant property, and striving against other families towards self-sufficiency. "The individual in his work and behavior is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern" (1964: 37). Outside the family, a man and his kindred meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. Marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups. "Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen" (Campbell 1964: 38-39). The dowry is a compensation to the husband's family for the amount endowed to the new family; it must be seen as a form of contract between two unrelated and hostile families (1964: 45). While the family is modeled on the holy family, God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ, on a day to day basis, men are symbolically associated with sheep (divine) and women with goats (having non-divine, seductive drives). Men are filotimo (spiritually strong) and must therefore dominate women (who are spiritually weak, but whose seductive drives can destroy the males spirituality). While most of the men are shepherds, in each generation a few leave the village to establish "humble bakeries to important merchant houses" (Campbell 1964: 12). Some would achieve such power as to be able to consult with national leaders and to help, through a patronage system, the residents of Zagori. (Remember here just what got Spiro Agnew in trouble: patronage!) There exists a godfather complex where a fictive godfather (kumbaros) uses his good offices to help his godchild and the child's family. About half of the godfathers are outside the community and are at a higher class level than that of the child's family.

Village authority rests in the hands of a council of five; adult villagers of both sexes vote, establishing a highly democratic civic culture. However, parties are personal followings and the village men look to the president for favors in exchange for votes. There is continuous scheming and intrigue (Campbell 1964: 232). There are no voluntary associations; the community does not have any institution of local government that one family could infiltrate and control (Campbell: 265). What Campbell has described conforms very closely to George Foster's concept of the image of limited good. The village lacks the ability to organize or coordinate activities because of a basic distrust. For this reason, the most important religious celebrations are oriented towards the household. Religious fervor is low, there is no local church.

Tarpon Springs was originally established as a "spa" for wealthy Philadelphians and between 1882 and 1905, catered to wealthy northerners. In 1889, John K. Cheyney, a wealthy banker from Philadelphia, had his yacht in the area and learned of the large sponge beds of the Gulf of Mexico. He used his influence to interest sponge merchants in New York City, mostly of Greek and Jewish background, to initiate sponge diving in the Tarpon Springs region. Between 1891 and 1900, there was a large migration of sponge divers to Tarpon Springs led by John Cocoris and his brothers (Buxbaum 1967: 31-34). The early Greeks are described as highly individualistic and characterized by "philotimo", which resulted in a great many organizational difficulties. Between 1905 and 1948 the sponge industry grew dramatically, with a parallel growth of the Greek community; in the meantime, the spa culture slowly died, partly in reaction to the Greeks

(Buxbaum 1967: 39). Greek industriousness led to substantial acquisition of real estate and material goods. Their social and political impact was strong, and they were described as extremely aggressive. Some gravitated into banking, and over time, were represented in the city's political organization, becoming mayors, heads of the police and fire departments, commissioners, and so on, but they never took over complete control (Buxbaum 1967: 41). Though at times their population was larger than any other group in the city, internal competition and contentiousness prevented stronger political alliances. As Buxbaum puts it "where there are three Greeks, there are five parties." Buxbaum gives a population breakdown between 1890 and 1965:

Year	Total	Greek	% Greek
1890	327	-	-
1900	541	-	-
1905	740	500	67.6
1930	3,414	1,439	42.2
1940	3,402	2,500	73.5
1960	6,768	3,000	44.3
1965	8,000	3,000	37.5

(Buxbaum 1967: 43)

Immigration occurred quickly, mostly from the island of Halki, north of Rhodos. By 1905, there were 500 sponge divers, and by 1940, 1,000 sponge divers (Buxbaum 1967: 43). Typically, males would live alone for several years and then return to Greece to obtain a Greek wife. The sponge diving industry brought its own support system: Greek boat builders, ship chandlers, provisioners, marine mechanics, financiers, and wholesalers, called "packers", who sold sponges up north. Between 1900 and 1940, they averaged sales of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 sponges/year (Buxbaum 1967: 53). The church

was organized through "The Community", a fourteen member council representing the various different islands from which the divers came. The community was made up of highly individualistic and competitive families. However, despite internal divisions, the community tended to dominate Tarpon Springs due to its overall cohesiveness, strong family loyalties, and allegiance to the church. Buxbaum also points out the enormous capacity of Greeks to absorb others without being absorbed (Buxbaum 1967: 150-153). Furthermore, A.H.E.P.A. was highly active almost from the beginning of the community.

From the above description, it is fairly obvious that the Greeks of Tarpon Springs had something between a community and a colony. They appear to have completely dominated the city's economic institutions, if not controlled them. Their church (and language school) date back almost to the origins of the community, and the church, through "The Community" controlled the community. This is not to say that the Greek community was a small theocracy. The priest of the Greek Orthodox Church has very little power; somewhat like a rabbi, he is one among equals.

In certain respects, Buxbaum's description of the Greek community of Tarpon Springs is in strong contrast to Campbell's description of a Greek community in Greece. While the behaviour and customs are quite parallel, with strong feelings of filotimo, patriarchalism, familism, and contentious individualism, there appears to be a lack of extreme distrust characteristic of an "image of limited good." In other words, almost from the very beginning, there was a dramatic change in behaviour among Tarpon Springs

Greeks in comparison to their compatriots in the homeland. This type of culture change is characteristic of most ethnic groups when first establishing their communities or colonies in the United States. The simplest explanation behind this process is (1) the sociocultural environment in the United States is dramatically different from that of the homeland: material goods, incomes, goals, did not have to be limited because of the abundance of the American economy, and (2) with a lack of the environmental controls inducing an "image of limited goods", it was possible for ethnic groups to organize themselves in ways they would not or could not in the homeland. In other words, the Greeks of Tarpon Springs were much more strongly organized than Greeks in Greece because the environmental factors inducing jealousy and a consequent inability to organize were missing. In a very real sense, Greeks in America become more Greek than their compatriots in the homeland.

Other important factors reported by Buxbaum are: the Greeks had built in a great many strategies for economic well being: they were not addicted to sponging. They could establish stores, fish, shrimp, become policemen and firemen, set up tourist shops, go into real estate, finance and law. In short, they had a great number of variable alternatives to sponge diving. Another very important characteristic is that the Greeks of Tarpon Springs (and elsewhere) were and are extremely proud to be Greeks. These are not downtrodden ethnics whose heritage is looked down upon by the host culture or by the descendants of the "colonists". Given this, it is easy to understand how the strength of Greek culture and the desire by Greek-Americans to be both Greek and American results in people who are at home with both cultures. It does not take long staying in Tarpon Springs to learn that Greeks can shift languages and cultures as easily as changing clothes.

Buxbaum's major thesis is that sponge diving, a highly regarded occupation, was one of the major unifying forces of the Greek community. Thus, the disappearance of the sponge diving industry should have brought about the disintegration of the Greek community. In 1947, at the height of the sponge diving industry, the "red tide" struck, practically eliminating sponges (Buxbaum 1967: 60). Panic hit the community, and, whereas, there were close to 400 boats operating out of Tarpon Springs, by 1967 there were only seven. Today there are four. Many of the younger men went to work in the steel mills of Youngstown, Ohio and Gary, Indiana (where, by the way, there are sizeable Greek colonies). This shift was partially orchestrated by the mayor of the city (who was not Greek) who had strong contacts with industrialists in both cities (personal communication with the ex-mayor). Others went into the shrimping and fishing industries, established grocery stores, became electricians or auto mechanics; some went to school and became lawyers, engineers, dentists, and doctors (Buxbaum 1967: 60-64).

In addition to the "red tide", in the 1950's, the DuPont Company introduced synthetic sponges that were cheaper than organic sponges (though of much lower quality). The crews of the boats dispersed, the skills were lost. The sponge beds started coming back in 1954, but the Greek men who once were sponge diving found factory work less dangerous and more lucrative (Buxbaum 1967). By the time Buxbaum made his study, the sponge industry was dead.

It is apparent that by the early 1950's, the Greeks of Tarpon Springs no longer had a community. They had become almost completely dependent on the institutional structures of the larger society, though they tried hard to maintain their personal economic independence. The sponge industry, with

all of its support systems had evaporated. But, despite this shift in organization, it is also apparent that the community had not begun to deteriorate. Rather, there were a variety of shifts in economic strategies. Typically, the men migrated to northern cities for a couple of years where they saved their money. Then they returned to Tarpon Springs and other nearby communities to establish independent business enterprises. It is difficult to estimate how many returned. However, informants described a network that exists between Greek colonies in northern cities and Tarpon Springs and other cities in southern Florida. Rather than Tarpon Springs being viewed as a center of diaspora due to economic disaster, today it is a type of mecca that attracts other Greeks from northern cities. Many of these work in the tourist restaurants on the wharf where the old sponge diving industry was located. One very large restaurant established by Louis Pappas, and now run by his son, employs northern Greeks as well as locals. Northern Greeks are known as D.P.'s by both local Greeks and non-Greeks (displaced person). The local tourist industry has almost completely replaced the sponge diving industry. Or, as one informant put it (a Greek), Tarpon Springs went from sponge fishing to sponging tourists ("a dollar for an ice cream cone" exlaimed one woman as she emerged from a curio shop). In short, the Greeks of Tarpon Springs are now making money from being Greeks. This is not apt to lead to acculturation and assimilation, rather it is apt to lead to the continued support of the Greek colony.

The greatest changes that have occurred to the Greek community in Tarpon Springs are in the role relationships in the family. There have been some changes in political organization, and almost no change in the key integrator, the Greek Orthodox Church. The family changes that have occurred can be briefly summarized: the disappearance of patriarchism, the

equalization of the status of the female, the breakdown of a strong division of labor, the practical disappearance of arranged marriages and dowry (Buxbaum 1967: 185-375). Each of these occurs in more and more attenuated form going from first generation, to second generation, to third generation. As must be expected, in certain families, the traditional mores are held intact. But the overall pattern is quite clear; the Greek family in Tarpon Springs is modernizing. Buxbaum argues that the disappearance of these traits is the result of "Americanization", but a more likely explanation is the one given earlier in the first part of this paper. That is, the environmental support for these characteristics has disappeared, and new support systems are generating changes in family organization. Briefly, as Campbell points out, the structure of the traditional Greek family results from the autonomy of the family and the striving of family against family in traditional Greek culture. In Tarpon Springs, there is little need for family autonomy and family striving and jealousy. Rather, the opposite is true. In Tarpon Springs today the wife takes an active part in the family business or has a job outside the home, or has friends who work outside the home. Social security and adequate savings have replaced the need for children to place their wages in the pockets of their fathers. These structural changes have affected the Greek family more or less greatly, but they are less the result of Greeks imitating Americans, than Greeks behaving like Americans for the same structural reasons that Americans have come to behave as Americans. Two interviews are of interest here. One with a Greek woman who has visited Greece, and the other with a Greek man, who has also visited Greece. The woman said that although Greece was a tremendous adventure, she could never tolerate living in Greece because of the way

women are treated. The man, echoing the woman, said much the same thing about Greece, but that while it was nice to be waited on by a woman, it was much better to live with someone who could act independently and didn't need to be told everything that had to be done. Yet, despite their modern ways, both were proud to be Greek and maintain ties with Greece.

Finally, political organization and the church: the greatest change is in the make-up of "The Community", the association that runs the church. Predictably, as the animosities of the original islanders are buried by time, there has been less and less need for the old island groupings to be represented in the association. Today, representatives to the association are elected at large. The church, I was assured, is as strong as ever, though the language school has fewer students. But the most important single factor symbolizing and unifying the Greek community is a religious event, the Epiphany celebration which starts on January 6, and runs for three days. This event brings Greeks to Tarpon Springs from throughout the United States. The most famous aspect of this event is the blessing of the cross when the archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America blesses a large golden cross and throws it into the bayou in the old residential sections of the city (where the old tourists used to live and where today's elite live). Boys from the Greek community dive into the bayou to locate the cross. The Tarpon Springs Leader always covers the event and prints the names of all the boys who have found the cross, dating back to 1920. The paper always congratulates the Greek community for its celebration and all of the major industries and commercial enterprises in the city print large ads congratulating the Greek community. It is interesting to add a final note, the name of the Tarpon Springs High School football team is

The Sponges!

Summary and Conclusions

A considerable literature has grown up around the topics of acculturation and the survival of ethnic populations. While some attempt has been made to provide theoretic frameworks for both of these subjects, writers continuously fail to look at structural features of community organizations as a major part of the explanation for survival. This paper presents a theoretical framework which includes as a master variable, the nature of the organization of the ethnic group. It has been shown that when the key features of cultural continuity remain intact (church, language school, voluntary associations) so does the ethnic population. Built in to the theory are the concepts of world view (filotimo, machismo) integrating variable economic and ecological strategies of adaptation and multiple role playing providing distinct public (American) and private (ethnic) personas which, together with community, colony, or network organization, provide a strong explanation for survival. Finally, the theory maintains that certain changes which appear to be the result of acculturation (such as increased democratization of family) are the result of adaptation and functional change to a different resource base by an ethnic community, colony, or network.

The theory was applied to the Greek colony of Tarpon Springs and helps to explain its survival. Other factors, such as ethnic pride, bigotry and Prejudice, poverty, success, and peer group pressure were not examined since these are popular explanations for both acculturation and ethnic maintenance. These explanations cross-cut each other and all ethnic populations to the point of having little predictive value. However, once the mechanisms of survival (ethnic organization, alternative strategies of adaptation, multiple

role playing, functional adaptation) are taken into consideration, then these other factors may give rise to more powerful explanations (not attempted in this study).

The theory presented here is provisional and serves to point out the great importance of certain variables that tend to be disregarded. These variables, when made central to research, could bring about a greater understanding of ethnic survival.

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